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DEPT PASS SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE: PAT HOLT

ALSO PASS TO NADINE JACOBSEN, EXECUTIVE ASST TO SENATOR PERCY

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TAGS: OREP (PERCY, CHARLES H.)

SUBJECT: CODEL PERCY

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA, SWAPO, BROADENING THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE,
AND P.M. VORSTER

(1) DURING APRIL 22 TO 24 VISIT TO NAMIBIA, I MET WITH
KEY APPOINTED AND ELECTED OFFICIALS OF SAG ADMINISTRATIVE
PRESENCE IN WINDHOEK AND OVAMBOLAND (CONTACTS ARRANGED BY SAG).
ALSO MET WITH INTERNAL SWAPO SPOKESMAN AND SUPPORTERS AND
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CHURCHMEN WHO ACT AS UNOFFICIAL ADVISORS TO INTENAL SWAPO,

AS WELL AS WITH SWANU AND FEDERAL PARTY LEADERS (MOST CONTACTS ARRANGED IN ADVANCE BY AMEMBASSY PRETORIA). EMBOFF RICHARRD TIERNEY ACCOMPANIED CODEL, CONTRIBUTING USEFUL BACKGROUND DATA AND TAKING NOTES AT SOME MEETINGS.

(2) WHAT FOLLOWS IS MY ESTIMATE OF WHITE POWER STRUCTURE IN NAMIBIA AND THE MAIN CHALLENGE TO THAT POWER STRUCTURE AND MY CONCLUSION THAT THE BEST AND POSSIBLY ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO ARMED VIOLENCE, TERRORISM AND EVEN COMMUNIST INTRUSION NAMIBIA IS TO BROADEN CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE TO INCLUDE OTHER POLITICAL GROUPS SUCH AS SWAPO, NNC, -- WITH AIM OF PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO BLACK MAJORITY RULE BY LATE 1977.

(3) IN LENGTHY CONVERSATIONS WITH DIRK MUDGE, CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL; J. DE WET, COMMISSIONER GENERAL FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLE, AND OTHER MEMBERS OF WHITE POWER STRUCTURE, I WAS STRUCK BY FACT THEY RECOGNIZED THEY HAD STONEWALLED FAR TOO LONG, THAT APARTHEID MUST END, AND THAT INDEPENDENCE MUST COME TO NAMIBIA. THEY, OF COURSE, DEFENDED PROCEDURES FOR ELECTING OR APPOINTING CONSTITUTIONAL CONFEREES, CRITICIZED SWAPO FOR HOLDING ALOOF AND FOR HARBORING AIMS OF DICTATORIAL CONTROL NAMIBIA. THEY ARGUED SKILLFULLY THAT THEY PURSUING MOST EXPEDITIOUS ROUTE TOWARD INDEPENDENCE AND ONE THAT LIKELY TO SUCCED IF FOREIGN INTERFERENCE CAN BE HELD AT BAY. MUDGE IMPRESSED ME AS MAN OF STRENGTH, SOME FLEXIBILITY. WITH REPUTATION AS A MAN WHO KEEPS HIS WORD. PLAINLY NOT A MERE PAWN OF VORSTER. SEVERAL SWAPO SUPPORTERS WE SPOKE WITH SHARED OUR ASSESSMENT AND NOTED RUMORS HE HAD EVEN CONSIDERED FORMING OWN MULTIRACIAL PARTY.

(4) INTERNAL SWAPO SPOKESMAN DANIEL TJONGARERO AND SWAPO POLITICAL ADVISORS LUTHRAN PASTOR LUCAS DEVRIES AND ANGLICAN FATHER EDWARD MORROW AND OTHER SWAPO SUPPORTERS INDICATED THAT THERE NO MAJOR RIVALRY BETWEEN INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SWAPO. THEY ADMITTED THAT REAL LEADERSHIP OF SWAPO WAS NOW OUTSIDE SWA. INDEED, TJONGARERO STATED THAT TWO MAIN CONDITIONS FOR SWAPO PARTICIPATION CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE WERE: (A) PERMISSION FOR EXILED NAMIBIANS TO RETURN WITH IMMUNITY FROM PROSECUTION BY SAG, AND (B) RELEASE OF ALL NAMIBIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS BY SAG. BASIC PROBLEM OF INTERNAL SWAPO WAS SAID TO BE THAT LEADERSHIP CONSTANTLY BEING JAILED OR DRIVEN ABROAD AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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HAS TO BE REPLENISHED FROM RANKS. INITIAL POSITION OF THIS PRO-SWAPO GROUP WAS TO RIDICULE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE AS DEVICE FOR SAG DIVIDE-AND-RULE POLICIES, (WHICH VIEW IS SUPPORTED BY MUCH HARD EVIDENCE).

(5) IN MY CONVERSATIONS WITH WHITE POWER STRUCTURE, I ARGUED URGENCY OF RAPID AND GENUINE PROGRESS TOWARD INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE. IN TALKS WITH SWAPO AND OTHER PARTIES NOT IN CONFERENCE, I ARGUED THAT THIS IS THE ONLY REALISTIC FRAMEWORK

FOR RAPID AND PEACEFUL ATTAINMENT OF THEIR GOALS. MEETING WITH BOTH SIDES MADE ME APPRECIATE COMPLEX AND SERIOUS OBSTACLES TO ANY MEANINGFUL BROADENING OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE. NOT THE LEAST OF THESE IS THE WIDELY HELD ASSUMPTION THAT SWAPO WOULD NOT BOTHER WITH CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE IF IT SAW A CHANCE TO ASSUME EFFECTIVE POWER IN NAMIBIA BY OTHER MEANS. MEETING SWAPO'S MINIMUM DEMANDS FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE CONFERENCE MIGHT PLACE THEM IN POSITION TO SEIZE POWER. CERTAINLY, THIS APPEARS TO BE THE VIEW OF SAG, AND IT THEREFORE HIGHLY DOUBTFUL THEY WILL MEET SWAPO MINIMUM DEMANDS BUT WORTH A TRY.

(6) NEVERTHELESS, IN VIEW OF OBVIOUS ADVANTAGES OF BROADENING CONFERENCE, I TRIED TO EXPLORE EXTENT OF FLEXIBILITY OF OF BOTH SIDES. I FOUND MUDGE WILLING TO A KNOWLEDGE, AFTER LONG DISCUSSION, THAT CONFERENCE WOULD LACK NECESSARY CREDIBILITY AT HOME OR ABROAD WITHOUT INCLUDING SWAPO AND OTHER PARTIES. DANIEL TJONGARERO ALSO CONCEDED THAT IT DESIRABLE TO EXPLORE SAG WILLINGNESS TO MEET SWAPO CONDITIONS; GAVE ME LIST OF SWAPO EXILES WHOSE RETURN I SAID I WOULD DISCUSS WITH VORSTER. I BELIEVE THERE ALSO SOME CHANCE INTERNAL SWAPO MIGHT ACCEPT TRANSFER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS FROM ROBBER ISLAND TO WINDHOEK PRISON, RATHER THAN IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL 45. THEY REACTED WELL TO THOUGHT OF HAVING AN OBSERVER AT CONFERENCE AND HAVING UN REP VISIT POLITICAL PRISONER AND REPORT. FINALLY, I PERSUADED FATHER MORROW TO CALL AND ACCEPT MUDGE OFFER OF A MEETING, HE EVEN AGREED TO HAVE IT TAKE PLACE AT MUDGE'S OFFICE FRIDAY MORNING APRIL 23.

(7) I WILL COMMENT SEPARATELY ON APRIL 23 MEETING WITH VORSTER, WHICH COVERED SEVERAL SUBJECTS BESIDES NAMIBIA. IN BRIEF, VORSTER CLAIMED THAT CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE HAS PLENARY POWERS TO RESOLVE ALL QUESTIONS ON TERRITORY'S FUTURE. EXPRESSED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WERE EXPLICIT CONFIDENCE IN DE WET THAN IN MUDGE. HE SAID THAT QUESTION OF INCLUDING SWAPO AND OTHER PARTIES IN CONFERENCE WAS UP TO THE CONFEREES, NOT TO HIMSELF (VORSTER). HOWEVER, IF IT WERE UP TO HIM, HE SAID HE WOULD NOT LET IN SWAPO; BECAUSE QUOTE SWAPO WAS BORN IN SIN IN 1957, WHEN IT WAS FOUNDED BY 4 WHITE COMMUNISTS HERE IN CAPETOWN UNQUOTE. VORSTER MADE PLAIN HIS BELIEF SWAPO NOW NOTHING BUT COMMUNIST AND FELLOW TRAVELER TERRORIST ORGANIZATION. VORSTER AND PERMANENT UNDERSECRETARY OF SAG FOREIGN OFFICE EACH EXPRESSED MILD INTEREST MY COMMENT THAT I NOW REGARD CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE AS ONLY AVAILABLE FRAMEWORK FOR PEACEFUL RESOLUTION FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS OF NAMIBIA PROVIDED SWAPO PARTICIPATE AS DELEGATES WITH OBSERVER PRESENT. JOHNSON

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